

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 USUN N 01092 01 OF 02 250307Z  
ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00  
NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01  
INR-10 L-03 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 /079 W  
-----127428 250329Z /65

O 250218Z MAR 78

FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0270  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE  
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 01092

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PORG, SF, WA  
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: REVISED DRAFT WESTERN FIVE MESSAGE TO  
SWAPO

1. CONTACT GROUP MET PM 24 MARCH AND AGREED UPON THE DRAFT  
WESTERN FIVE MESSAGE TO SWAPO. CAPE TOWN PLEASE PASS TO  
CANADIAN EMBASSY. ALL POSTS PLEASE PASS TO FRG EMBASSIES.  
BONN PLEASE PASS TO FONOFF.

2. TEXT AS FOLLOWS:

- "ON FEBRUARY 11-12, THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF OUR  
FIVE GOVERNMENTS MET WITH A SWAPO DELEGATION, LED BY  
PRESIDENT SAM NUJOMA, TO DISCUSS OUR PROPOSAL FOR THE  
TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA. AT THOSE MEETINGS,  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USUN N 01092 01 OF 02 250307Z

AND IN SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSIONS SINCE THEN, BOTH SWAPO AND  
SOUTH AFRICA RAISED A NUMBER OF POINTS REGARDING OUR  
PROPOSAL. SOME WERE MATTERS OF DRAFTING OTHERS WERE MORE  
SUBSTANTIVE; OUR FIVE GOVERNMENTS HAVE CAREFULLY CON-  
SIDERED EVERY POINT THAT WAS RAISED AND HAVE MADE SOME  
CLARIFICATIONS IN THE TEXT. THE MAIN BODY OF THE TEXT,  
HOWEVER, REMAINS UNALTERED. WE HAVE NOW INSTRUCTED OUR

REPRESENTATIVES TO PROVIDE YOU, SOUTH AFRICA AND OTHER INTERESTED PARTIES WITH OUR PROPOSAL FOR AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA LEADING TO EARLY MAJORITY RULE AND INDEPENDENCE FOR THE TERRITORY. IT HAS THE UNRESERVED BACKING OF OUR FIVE GOVERNMENTS. WE HOPE THAT SWAPO WILL ACCEPT THE PROPOSAL, WHICH THE FIVE INTEND TO PRESENT TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

- "WE BELIEVE THAT WE HAVE DEVISED A SOLUTION WHICH IS FAIR AND JUST, WHICH RESTS FIRMLY UPON THE FRAMEWORK PROVIDED BY RESOLUTION 385, AND MEETS THE LEGITIMATE CONCERNS OF ALL. CONSISTENT WITH THIS APPROACH, OUR FIVE GOVERNMENTS DID NOT SEEK THE SIMPLE TRANSFER OF POWER TO REPRESENTATIVE OF ANY PARTICULAR NAMIBIAN GROUP. AS A PRACTICAL MATTER IT WAS ALSO UNREALISTIC TO EXPECT A SIMPLE SA SURRENDER. INEVITABLY ANY AGREEMENT BASED ON NEGOTIATIONS WILL NOT FULLY SATISFY ALL.

- "WE BEGAN WITH THE PREMISE THAT SOUTH AFRICA'S PRESENCE IN NAMIBIA IS ILLEGAL AND SHOULD BE ENDED. WE HAVE ACHIEVED A SUBSTANTIAL DEGREE OF AGREEMENT AMONG THE PARTIES ON A PROCESS WHICH WOULD TERMINATE THAT PRESENCE. IT INCLUDES AS A KEY ELEMENT A VERY SUBSTANTIAL UN INVOLVEMENT DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD. THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WILL HAVE A DECISIVE ROLE THROUGHOUT POLITICAL PROCESS AND HIS CIVILIAN AND MILITARY CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 USUN N 01092 01 OF 02 250307Z

STAFF WILL BE CONSIDERABLE IN SIZE. ALL LEVELS OF THE ADMINISTRATION, THE POLICE AND THE SMALL RESIDUAL SOUTH AFRICAN FORCE WILL COME UNDER THE CLOSE SUPERVISION OF THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE'S STAFF. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, IT IS INCONCEIVABLE THAT THE SOUTH AFRICANS OR INDEED ANY PARTY COULD DELIBERATELY VIOLATE THE AGREEMENT WITHOUT BRINGING DOWN UPON THEMSELVES THE CONDEMNATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

- "DURING THE FEBRUARY NEGOTIATIONS IN NEW YORK, SWAPO, ACCEPTED THE RETENTION OF A RESIDUAL SOUTH AFRICAN FORCE OF 1500 IN NAMIBIA UNTIL AFTER CERTIFICATION OF THE ELECTIONS. WE HAVE PROPOSED THAT THIS FORCE BE RESTRICTED UNDER CLOSE UN MONITORING TO BASES AT OSHIVELLA AND/OR GROOTFONTEIN. WE CANNOT ACCEPT THE SOUTH AFRICAN PROPOSAL THAT PLATOON SIZE UNITS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN DEFENSE FORCES ALSO BE POSITIONED IN EIGHT LOCATIONS NEAR THE BORDER WITH ANGOLA AS THIS MIGHT ADVERSELY AFFECT THE CONDUCT OF FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS. NEITHER CAN WE ACCEPT THE SWAPO PROPOSAL THAT THE RESIDUAL FORCE SHOULD BE RESTRICTED TO BASE AT KARASBURG IN THE SOUTH. WE FOUND THIS TO BE POLITICALLY UNACCEPTABLE FOR IT WOULD

BE TANTAMOUNT TO DEMANDING SOUTH AFRICA'S COMPLETE  
WITHDRAWAL. IT WOULD MOREOVER BE UNNECESSARY AS, GIVEN  
THE MONITORING ARRANGEMENTS WHICH WE PROPOSE, WE DO NOT  
SEE HOW SUCH A SMALL FORCE CAN POSSIBLY REPRESENT A  
THREAT TO THE FREEDOM OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS. WE ALSO  
DRAW YOUR ATTENTION TO THAT SECTION OF OUR PROPOSAL WHICH  
DEALS WITH THE POLICE. THERE WE HAVE ADDRESSED SWAPO'S  
LEGITIMATE CONCERNS ABOUT THEIR CONDUCT AND ABOUT THE  
NEED TO MONITOR THEIR ACTIVITIES CAREFULLY.

- "WITH REGARD TO THE SIZE OF THE UN MILITARY

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 USUN N 01092 02 OF 02 250312Z  
ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00  
NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01  
INR-10 L-03 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 /079 W  
-----127449 250329Z /65

O 250218Z MAR 78

FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0271  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE  
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 01092

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

CONTINGENT, WE REMAIN FIRMLY OF THE VIEW THAT WE SHOULD  
NOT ATTEMPT TO IMPOSE AN ARBITRARY FIGURE, BUT SHOULD  
LEAVE THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO DETERMINE WHAT IS  
NECESSARY IN THE LIGHT OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE TASK.  
WE HAVE, HOWEVER, MADE IT CLEAR THAT OUR FIVE GOVERNMENTS  
WILL SUPPORT HIS JUDGMENT AND WE SHALL HONOR THIS COMMIT-  
MENT.

- "AS BOTH SWAPO AND SOUTH AFRICA OBJECTED TO  
THE FORMULA WHICH WE DEvised FOR THE DIFFICULT QUESTION  
OF WALVIS BAY, WE HAVE OMITTED THIS ELEMENT FROM THE

PROPOSAL. WE SEE NO WAY OF SETTLING THE QUESTION IN THE  
CONTEXT OF THE PRESENT NEGOTIATIONS BUT WE DO NOT BELIEVE  
THAT DISAGREEMENTS REGARDING THE STATUS OF WALVIS BAY  
SHOULD BE PERMITTED TO IMPEDE AN EARLY AND OTHERWISE  
ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT. WE HAVE TOLD THE SOUTH AFRICANS  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USUN N 01092 02 OF 02 250312Z

THAT ALL ASPECTS OF THE QUESTION OF WALVIS BAY SHOULD BE  
SUBJECT TO DISCUSSION BETWEEN THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERN-  
MENT AND THE ELECTED GOVERNMENT OF NAMIBIA. OUR REPRESENTATIVES IN NEW YORK WILL BE INSTRUCTED TO MAKE THIS  
CLEAR IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL. WE HAVE OBTAINED  
ASSURANCES THAT THE STRENGTH OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN FORCE IN  
WALVIS BAY WILL NOT BE INCREASED DURING THIS TRANSI-  
TIONAL PERIOD AND THE NAMIBIANS IN WALVIS BAY WILL BE ABLE  
TO PARTICIPATE IN THE POLITICAL LIFE OF THE  
TERRITORY DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD, INCLUDING  
VOTING IN ELECTIONS.

- "OTHER ASPECTS OF OUR PROPOSAL HAVE CAUSED  
DIFFICULTY FOR ONE OR ANOTHER PARTY. IN OUR VIEW,  
HOWEVER, THEY ARE RELATIVELY MINOR MATTERS WHICH SHOULD  
NOT BE ALLOWED TO OBSTRUCT OUR GOAL OF AN EARLY OVERALL  
SETTLEMENT. WE HAVE GIVEN FULL AND CAREFUL CONSIDERA-  
TION TO EACH OF THESE MATTERS AND OUR FIVE GOVERNMENTS  
FIRMLY SUPPORT OUR CLARIFIED PROPOSAL AS A BASIS FOR A  
SETTLEMENT. WE HOPE THAT SWAPO WILL MAKE A THOROUGH AND  
RAPID STUDY OF OUR PROPOSAL. WE RECOGNIZE THAT INEVITABLY  
THERE ARE MATTERS WHICH WILL CAUSE YOU DIFFICULTIES. WE  
HOPE, HOWEVER, THAT YOU WILL CONSIDER OUR PROPOSAL AS A  
WHOLE VERY SERIOUSLY INDEED AND NOT REJECT IT OUT OF HAND.  
IT IS NOW A QUESTION OF POLITICAL WILL ON ALL SIDES. WE  
INTEND TO LAY OUR PROPOSAL BEFORE THE SECURITY COUNCIL  
IN THE NEAR FUTURE, AND WE HOPE THAT THE COUNCIL WILL ACT  
UPON IT. WE BELIEVE THAT THERE IS A GOOD PROSPECT OF  
INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR OUR PROPOSAL. THIS IN ITSELF  
WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT BREAKTHROUGH." LEONARD

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 jan 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS, COMMITTEE MEETINGS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 25 mar 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1978USUNN01092  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D780131-0671  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** USUN NEW YORK  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1978/newtext/t19780324/aaaaaudy.tel  
**Line Count:** 211  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** 04cf12bd-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ACTION IO  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 25 may 2005  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 3201088  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** NAMIBIA: REVISED DRAFT WESTERN FIVE MESSAGE TO SWAPO  
**TAGS:** PORG, SF, WA  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/04cf12bd-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014